[illegible] shown to hold the woman and her family. A husband did not challenge his wife's lover but a woman who learn of her husband's infidelity attacked the other woman both verbally and physically. Folktales, such as the one describing a jealous husband cutting off an adulterous woman's leg below the thigh, highlight the seriousness of the offense. Mention of a chastity belt crops up in an anecdote which the informant did not believe to be true. It concerns a husband who prior to leaving for a hunt secured a metallic line between his wife's legs to prevent her from having sexual relations during his absence.

Women met with no punishment except that a traitor was not allowed to fight the enemy. He could, however, pack for the military expedition.

Violation of food and other taboos did not so much result in the application of direct punishment as they led to fear of magical retribution. Economic arguments following from culturally conditioned premiums dissuaded people from breaking these taboos, and hence exemplify a particular type of social pressure.[9] Fear of punishment by ghosts for injuries done to people in their lives also represents a sentiment limiting conduct.[10]

To summary we can say that socially approved punishment in pre-contact Kaska life consisted chiefly of unbearable public opinion, exile, feuds, and blood revenge. The latter two sanctions were reserved for offenses against life. Nobody explicitly enjoyed the power to impose punishment on behalf of the total community. Hence most social pressure was informal or individualized. It should be clear that negative pressure did not enhance the mechanism for maintaining equilibrium in the social system. Potlatching, official ties, games, and other rituals undoubtedly played their parts in preserving harmonious social relations.

War represented group retaliation for offenses committed by relative strangers upon members of the community. Since military revenge in turn promoted the desire for fresh vengeance on the opposite side antagonism between the Upper Liard Kaska and their neighbors tended to be chronic. The prevalence even of interribal mistrust is well illustrated in the discomfort and fresh suspicion aroused by any strangers. The Nahani and Nahani complexes, with their initial bound form indicating "enemy" or "hostile," reflect these states of anxiety and hostility. Informants refused to regard the Nahani as supernatural but applied the term to Indians with whom the Kaska had little contact, that is, "strange" Indians who raided people and stole women. The term Nahani applied particularly to the Cree (nehna, a word deriving from the root for "cree") who had to the bush with rifles waiting for an opportunity to abduct women.

Fighting occurred between the Upper Liard Indians and the people of Teslin Lake (probably the Tahu), Pelly River, Ingenica, and, of course, the Cree Indians. Warfare with the Tahltan was denied by one man (O), who stated that prior to contact the Kaska had traded with the Tahltan, so how could they have fought as enemies? His argument holds only for the relatively recent prehistoric period. It is not applicable to an earlier period, when the Tahltan were not yet middlemen in the trade originating west of the

[9] Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 53-55. For further information about avoidances see below, pp. 108-110.

[10] See below, pp. 136-137.